1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

578 They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other. When one supposes himself hurt or aggrieved by a word which has inadvertently fallen from the mouth of another, he will say to him: "Friend, you have caused me to become jealous of you," (meaning that he begins to doubt the sincerity of his friendship,) when the other explaining and saying that he had no bad intention, all is done away again.

They do not fight with each other; they say that fighting is only for dogs and beasts. They are, however, 522 fond of play, and passing a joke, yet very careful that they do not offend.

They are ingenious in making satirical observations, which though they create laughter, do not, or but seldom give offence. For instance, seeing a bad hunter going out into the woods with his gun, they will ask him if he is going out for meat? or say to one another: "now we shall have meat, for such a one is gone a hunting," (not believing any such thing.) If they see a coward joining a war party, they will ask him ironically at what time he intends to come back again? (knowing that he will return before he has met the enemy,) or they will say to one another: "will he return this way with his scalps?"

Genuine wit, which one would hardly expect to find in a savage people, is not unfrequent among them. I have heard them, for instance, compare the English and 522 American nations to a pair of scissors, an instrument 648 composed of two sharp edged knives exactly alike, working against each other for the same purpose, that of *cutting*. By the construction of this instrument, they said, it would appear as if in shutting, these two sharp knives would strike together and destroy each other's edges; but no such thing: they only cut *what comes between them*. And thus the English and Americans do when they go to war against one another. It is not each

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

"All *Pengees!*"—Then, probably observing me, he said correcting himself, "No! one *Quækel.*" 648 551

Such are the observations which the Indians make on the white people, and the names which they give to them. They may sometimes be in the wrong; but, as they make it their particular study to become acquainted with the actions, motions, deportment and dress of the different nations, they seldom commit mistakes, and in general, they apply their different names precisely to those whom they are meant to designate or describe.

CHAPTER XIV.

INTERCOURSE WITH EACH OTHER.

IT is a striking fact, that the Indians, in their uncivilised state, should so behave towards each other as though they were a civilised people! I have in numerous instances witnessed their meeting together, their doing business and conversing with each other for hours, their labouring together, and their hunting and fishing in bodies or parties; I have seen them divide their game, venison, bear's meat, fish, &c. among themselves, when they sometimes had many shares to make, and cannot recollect a single instance of their falling into a dispute or finding fault with the distribution, as being unequal, or otherwise objectionable. On the contrary, on such occasions they even receive what is allotted to them with thanks; they say "*anischi,*" I am thankful! as if it was a present given to them. 181 [578]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

pressed a great desire for a mess of Indian corn. Her husband having heard that a trader at Lower Sandusky had a little, set off on horseback for that place, one hundred miles distant, and returned with as much corn as filled the crown of his hat, for which he gave his horse in exchange, and came home on foot, bringing his saddle back with him. Squirrels, ducks, and other like delicacies, when most difficult to be obtained, are what women in the first stage of their pregnancy generally long for. The husband in every such case will go out and spare no pains nor trouble until he has procured what is wanted. 593 843

In other cases, the men and their wives do not in general trouble themselves with each other's business; but the wife, knowing that the father is very fond of his children, is always prepared to tell him some diverting anecdote of one or the other of them, especially if he has been absent for some time. 593

It very seldom happens that a man condescends to quarrel with his wife, or abuse her, though she has given him just cause. In such a case the man, without replying, or saying a single word, will take his gun and go into the woods, and remain there a week or perhaps a fortnight, living on the meat he has killed, before he returns home again; well knowing that he cannot inflict a greater punishment on his wife for her conduct to him than by absenting himself for a while; for she is not only kept in suspense, uncertain whether he will return again, but is soon reported as a bad and quarrelsome woman; for, as on those occasions, the man does not tell his wife on what day or at what time he will be back again, which he otherwise, when they are on good terms, never neglects to do, she is at once put to shame by her neighbours, who soon suspecting something, do not fail to put such questions to her, as she either cannot, or is ashamed to answer. When he at length does return, she endeavours to let him see by her attentions, that she has 578 593

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

593 repented, though neither speak to each other a single
578 word on the subject of what has passed. And as his children, if he has any, will on his return hang about him and soothe him with their caresses, he is, on their account, ready to forgive, or at least to say nothing unpleasant to their mother. She has, however, received by this a solemn warning, and must take care how she behaves in future, lest the next time her husband should stay away altogether and take another wife. It is very probable, that if at this time they had had no children, he would have left her, but then he would have taken his property with him at the same time.

593 On the return of an Indian from a journey, or long ab-
576 sence, he will on entering the house, say, "I am return-
484 ed!" to which his wife will reply, "I rejoice!" and having cast his eyes around, he will enquire, whether all the children are well, when being answered in the affirmative, he replies, "I am glad!" which for the present is all the conversation that passes between them; nor does he relate any thing at this present time that occurred on his journey, but holds himself in readiness to partake of the nourishment which his wife is preparing for him. After a while, when the men of the village have assembled at his house, his wife, with the rest, hears his story at full length.

584 *Marriages* are proposed and concluded in different ways. The parents on both sides, having observed an attachment between two young persons, negotiate for them. This generally commences from the house where the bridegroom lives, whose mother is the negotiatrix for him, and begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat, or something else of the same kind, to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it: in return for this the mother of the bride, if she otherwise approves of the match, which she well understands by the presents to be intended, will prepare a good dish of victuals, the pro-

9 [Lenaelan. See cat. 116, p. 348, —Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Huron NG5
Shawnee NN17

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for in a few words, and in less than five minutes, he shewed him at once the contrast between great actions briefly and modestly told, and every day occurrences related and dwelt on with pompous minuteness. This contrast, indeed, was particularly striking, the more so as the modest warrior did not seem to enjoy his triumph, nor to be even conscious of the accession to his fame which must result from the publicity of the account which he had given. As both parties spoke the Shawano language, I well understood every thing they said, and I paid the most particular attention to their discourse, which was of itself sufficiently interesting.

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This passion of the Indians, which I have called *pride*, but which might, perhaps, be better denominated *high-mindedness*, is generally combined with a great sense of honour, and not seldom produces actions of the most heroic kind. I am now going to relate an instance of this honourable pride, which I have also witnessed. An Indian of the Lenape nation, who was considered as a very dangerous person, and was much dreaded on that account, had publicly declared that as soon as another Indian, who was then gone to Sandusky, should return from thence, he would certainly kill him. This dangerous Indian called in one day at my house on the Muskingum to ask me for some tobacco. While this unwelcome guest was smoking his pipe by my fire, behold! the other Indian whom he had threatened to kill, and who at that moment had just arrived, also entered the house. I was much frightened, as I feared the bad Indian would take that opportunity to carry his threat into execution, and that my house would be made the scene of a horrid murder. I walked to the door, in order not to witness a crime that I could not prevent, when to my great astonishment I heard the Indian whom I thought in danger, address the other in these words: "Uncle, you have "threatened to kill me—you have declared that you

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"would do it the first time we should meet. Now I am "here, and we are together. Am I to take it for granted that you are in earnest, and that you are really determined to take my life as you have declared? Am "I now to consider you as my avowed enemy, and in "order to secure my own life against your murderous "designs, to be the first to strike you and embrue "my hands in your blood?—I will not, I cannot do it. "Your heart is bad, it is true, but still you appear to be "a generous foe, for you gave me notice of what you "intended to do; you have put me on my guard, and did "not attempt to assassinate me by surprise; I, therefore, will spare you until you lift up your arm to strike, "and then, uncle, it will be seen which of us shall fall!" The murderer was thunderstruck, and without replying a word, slunk off and left the house.

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The anecdote with which I am going to conclude this chapter, will display an act of heroism produced by this elevation of mind which I have called *pride*, which, perhaps, may have been equalled, but, I dare say, was hardly ever surpassed. In the spring of the year 1782, the war chief of the Wyandots of Lower Sandusky sent a white prisoner (a young man whom he had taken at Fort M'Intosh) as a present to another chief, who was called the *Half-king* of Upper Sandusky, for the purpose of being adopted into his family, in the place of one of his sons, who had been killed the preceding year, while at war with the people on the Ohio. The prisoner arrived, and was presented to the Half-king's wife, but she refused to receive him, which, according to the Indian rule, was, in fact, a sentence of death. The young man was, therefore, taken away, for the purpose of being tortured and burnt on the pile. While the dreadful preparations were making near the village, the unhappy victim being already tied to the stake, and the Indians arriving from all quarters to join in the cruel act or to witness it, two

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

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final day of the ceremony. At the time of the wartime meetings there were no women left who had had visions. Perhaps this is why they were called upon to offer prayers instead.

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There was friction in at least one of the meetings since the leader, J.W., sold the scarce, virtually sacred wampum donated by other Delawares. The people who purchased the wampum were frequently strangers or curiosity seekers; they were seldom donors. Friction also occurred when some peyotists prayed in their fashion. One individual said of this friction:

> Ben Hill asked people to get up and pray — to pray to the fire. Nobody did for awhile so I got up. I prayed like a white preacher does, but in Indian. I prayed to the fire, and asked that all the boys be returned safely. I prayed that my boy would come back safe. I went on praying and I got to crying. Then I sat down. Then E. J. got up and prayed the same way, then a man. After that T.M. got up and said he didn't believe you could pray that way in this meeting. I felt so funny, I was crushed. I didn't go back after that. (O.A.)

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The form of prayer that O.A. described is common in the local version of the Big Moon peyote cult, with the exception that in the peyote ceremony the prayer is accompanied by the smoking of a Bull Durham cornhusk cigarette.

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Even with what little is known about the wartime Big House ceremonies it is plain that they were more a reflection of the old rites than a faithful duplication of them. They lasted twelve days, visions were recited, some venison was eaten, but in almost every other respect they were changed. The few young people who attended did not know where to sit; even if they knew their phratry membership they probably did not know where that phratry belonged in the meeting house. The arbor was a poor substitute for the log Big House; there was room for only one fire, and the carved heads were missing. There could be no hunt for deer, because there were no deer. In one meeting O.A. persuaded a rancher to contribute a deer, but it was impossible to feed the participants for twelve days with one deer.

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After 1924 the Big House Ceremony withered away. It was briefly revived because of the stimulus of the second world war, but this revival was only a dim reflection of the original ceremony. Joe Washington and Ben Hill, the spark plugs of the wartime meetings, are dead. The few remaining participants who are familiar with the ritual are old and are not imparting their knowledge to others; and many Delawares who formerly participated have focused their attentions on the peyote cult. Informants gave two reasons why they preferred peyotism to the traditional religious forms: first, peyotism is cheap, but in the Big House Ceremony the "Bringer-in" is primarily responsible for the cost which in 1930 was one hundred and fifty dollars.[8] In a peyote meeting the cost is negligible in comparison and is often shared by the participants. Second, only Delawares can participate in the Big House Ceremony, and individual Delawares often have only a few Delaware friends,

[8]Speck, 1931, p. 24.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17

D 411

The Delaware Indians use no other than rifle-barrelled guns, having satisfied themselves that these are the best for shooting at long range, in which they are very skillful and shooting accurately. They have acquired considerable skill in making minor repairs when their weapons get out of order. Some have even learned to furnish them with stocks, neatly and well made. An Indian really intent on making something will not spare pains or time in accomplishing his purpose even when he has not seen the thing made and takes great pride in the work of his hands. Among nations living farther inland the rifle-barrelled guns are rare and muskets are more commonly found, often in very poor condition, except among the Shawanose [Shawanese] who know and value the rifle-barrelled gun. S [411]

D 586

It occurs to me to add that when a man and his wife have no children, they generally separate before long, each believing the other to be the guilty cause, and attributing it to the other. There are also women who never have children. Such a one goes from one man to another until some man who has children already takes her. There are men also who never have children. In both sexes, however, these cases are rare.

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Cursing and swearing are never heard among the Indians; they have no words of this character in their language. If women or men would berate one another — rarely the case among men, except in case of the younger, more frequent among women — they direct words and speeches at one another which would not be considered terrible by other people but are very seriously taken by the Indians. If they would revile one another in extremest fashion, they use some obscene expressions.

D 854 [482]

Mothers carry the children on their backs under the blanket. They do this even when the children are five years old and over, for they love their children. In former days it was the custom to bind the child upon a board which was carried by means of a band fastened round the head in such a way that the child was suspended on the back in an upright position. This practice gets more and more out of fashion, for the reason that it has been the cause of miserable death of the children. It was customary that children thus fastened were placed against a bench or elsewhere,

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, according to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox, muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle, and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle, turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct subdivisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware regard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292-98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes and other less important wild products were gathered. The

"Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
[721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate
154 captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
627 position."[52] The institution of blood-revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted
154 childhood and who at the same time had
521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for
562 aggression, the overflow dribbled off in unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
273 solved the inhibitions against aggression.
578 "The effects which intoxication produces upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.